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P. 9

Langford 4

No. 47

# HOW SHALL I VOTE?

CANDIDATES AND PARTIES  
PAGE TO PAGE

A STARTLING CONTRAST OF LIVES AND RECORDS

BY A CITIZEN

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## ELECTORAL VOTE OF THE STATES.

## REPUBLICAN IN 1876 AND 1880.

	No. of Electors.
Illinois.....	22
Iowa.....	13
Kansas.....	9
Maine.....	6
Massachusetts.....	14
Michigan.....	13
Minnesota.....	7
Nebraska.....	5
New Hampshire.....	4
Ohio.....	23
Oregon.....	3
Pennsylvania.....	30
Rhode Island.....	4
Vermont.....	4
Wisconsin.....	11
Total.....	168

## REPUBLICAN IN 1880 ONLY.

	No. of Electors.
Connecticut.....	6
Indiana.....	15
New York.....	36
Colorado.....	3
Total.....	60

## DEMOCRATIC IN 1876 AND 1880.

	No. of Electors.
Alabama.....	10
Arkansas.....	7
Delaware.....	3
Georgia.....	12
Kentucky.....	13
Maryland.....	8
Mississippi.....	9
Missouri.....	16
New Jersey.....	9
North Carolina.....	11
Tennessee.....	12
Texas.....	13
Virginia.....	12
West Virginia.....	6
Total.....	141

## DEMOCRATIC IN 1880 ONLY.

	No. of Electors.
California.....	8
Florida.....	4
Louisiana.....	8
Nevada.....	3
South Carolina.....	9
Total.....	32

Total Electoral Vote in 1884, 401.

Necessary to elect,.....201.

TIME OF ELECTIONS: In all the States the vote for Presidential electors is held Nov. 4. State elections occur previously to that date, as follows: In Arkansas, for State officers and Legislature, Sept. 1; in Vermont, for State officers and Legislature, Sept. 2; in Maine, for Governor, Legislature, and Congressmen, Sept. 8; in Georgia, for Governor and Legislature, Oct. 1; in Ohio, for State officers and Congressmen, Oct. 14; in West Virginia, for State officers, Legislature, and Congressmen Oct. 14.

# HOW SHALL I VOTE?

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## EARLY LIFE OF CANDIDATES.

### JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE.

Born Jan. 31, 1830, at Indian Hill Farm, Washington Co., Pa.

Sent to school in Lancaster, Pa., 1841.

Graduated at Washington College, September, 1847, with first honor in class of 33.

Teacher in Western Military Institute, Blue Lick Springs, Ky., 1847-50.

Married Miss Harriet Stanwood, of Augusta, Me., March, 1851.

Teacher in Pennsylvania Institution for Instruction of the Blind, Philadelphia, 1852-54.

Removed to Augusta, Me., in 1854.

Began his career as an editor, 1854.

### JOHN ALEXANDER LOGAN.

Born in Murphysboro, Ill., Feb. 9, 1826.

Educated at home, no school being near.

Lieutenant in Mexican War, 1845-48.

### STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND.

Born in Caldwell, N. J., March 18, 1837.

Received academic education in Clinton, N. Y.

Clerk in grocery store, Fayetteville, 1853.

Teacher in New York Asylum for the Blind.

Removed to Buffalo, 1854.

Studied law, and admitted to the bar, 1859.

### THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

Born near Zanesville, O., 1819.

Removed to Shelby Co., Ind., 1822.

Graduated at Hanover College, 1841.

## LOGAN.

Studied law in Murphysboro,  
Ill.  
Served as clerk of County Court,  
1850.  
Admitted to the bar, 1851.

## HENDRICKS.

Studied law at Chambersburg,  
Pa.  
Admitted to the bar, 1843.

## PUBLIC LIFE OF CANDIDATES.

## BLAINE.

*Editor Kennebec Journal*, 1854-57.  
*Delegate to National Republican  
Convention*, 1856.

*Editor Portland Daily Advertiser*,  
1857-58.

*Representative to the Maine Legis-  
lature*, 1859-62. Made, among  
others, a speech in opposition  
to the acquisition of Cuba.

*Delegate to National Republican  
Convention of 1860*, and an  
active worker for Lincoln's  
nomination.

*Speaker of the Maine House of  
Representatives*, 1861-62.

*Member of the U. S. House of  
Representatives*, 1862-76.

(For record on war questions,  
see next division.)

Made a speech opposing the  
Gold Bill, an attempt to repudiate  
the national debt, which declared  
"that a contract made payable  
in coin may be payable in legal  
tender U. S. notes, and that no  
difference in sale or value shall  
be allowed between them."  
The bill was defeated.

In a speech on the Shipping  
Bill, in 1866, Mr. Blaine said :

"In theory and in practice I

## CLEVELAND.

*Appointed assistant District-At-  
torney for Erie Co., N. Y.*, 1863.

*Nominated in 1865 for the office  
of District-Attorney, and de-  
feated.*

## BLAINE.

am for protecting American industry in all its forms, and to this end we must encourage American manufactures, and we must equally encourage American commerce."

Made a speech, 1867, opposing the bill providing for the payment of the U. S. Five-twenties, in paper currency—another bill for Repudiation. He said:

"I am sure that in the peace our arms have conquered we shall not dishonor ourselves by withholding from any public creditor a dollar that we promised to pay him, nor seek, by cunning construction and clever afterthought, to evade or escape the full responsibility of our national indebtedness. It will doubtless cost us a vast sum to pay that indebtedness; but it would cost us incalculably more not to pay it."

He was the first man in either branch of Congress who spoke against the Greenback heresy.

In 1867, Augustus Costello, Gen. Thomas F. Bourke, and other Irish-Americans, were arrested in Ireland for speeches previously made in America, and when they were American citizens. Costello was sentenced to sixteen years' penal servitude. Mr. Blaine organized a congressional agitation, which resulted in the liberation of Costello and all his colleagues who possessed full American citizenship, and in the treaty of 1870, in which Great Britain surrendered all claims of allegiance from British subjects who

## CLEVELAND.

*Sheriff of Erie Co., N. Y., 1870-73.*

Hung two men skilfully and expeditiously.



## BLAINE.

became naturalized as American citizens.

Made a speech, Feb. 10, 1876, in opposition to Inflation. He said :

"We shall have discharged our full duty in Congress if we can mature a measure which will steadily advance our currency to the specie standard."

*Speaker of the House of Representatives* 1869-75 (three terms).

Resolution presented by Hon. S. S. Cox (Dem.), of New York, at close of the XLI. Congress :

*Resolved*, In view of the difficulties involved in the performance of the duties of the presiding officer of this House, and of the able, courteous, dignified, and impartial discharge of those duties by Hon. J. G. Blaine during the present Congress, it is eminently becoming that our thanks be and they are hereby tendered to the Speaker thereof.

The resolution was adopted.

Resolution submitted by Hon. Samuel J. Randall (Dem.), of Pennsylvania, at the close of the first session of the XLII. Congress :

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this House are due and are hereby tendered to James G. Blaine, Speaker of the House, for the able, prompt, and impartial manner in which he has discharged the duties of his office during the present session.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolution offered at close of the XLII. Congress by Hon. *Daniel Voorhees* (Dem.), of Indiana, in these words : "I offer

## CLEVELAND.

Mayor of Buffalo, N. Y., 1880-82.

Vetoed an ordinance appropriating \$300 for the proper observance of Memorial Day.

## BLAINE.

the following resolution. It has the sincere sanction of my head and of my heart :"

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this House are due, and are hereby tendered, to Hon. James G. Blaine, for the distinguished ability and impartiality with which he has discharged the duty of Speaker of the House of Representatives of the XLII. Congress.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolution submitted by Hon. Orlando B. Potter (New York), at close of the XLIII. Congress :

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this House are due, and are hereby tendered, to Hon. James G. Blaine, for the impartiality, efficiency, and distinguished ability with which he has discharged the trying and arduous duties of his office during the XLIII. Congress.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

*Candidate for the Presidential nomination* before the Rep. National Convention of 1876. Received on first ballot 298 votes out of 758 ; on the seventh and last ballot, 351 out of 756, R. B. Hayes being nominated.

*U. S. Senator* 1876-81.

Made a speech in 1876 opposing the Electoral Commission Bill.

Took a decided stand, in 1877, against President Hayes's recognition of the Democratic State Governments in South Carolina and Louisiana.

## CLEVELAND.

*Governor of New York*, 1882-84.

Vetoed the bill abolishing contract child labor in the charitable and reformatory institutions of the State.

Signed the bill reducing pilotage fees 20 per cent.

Vetoed the Five Cent Fare Bill, a measure calculated to enable workingmen and their families to reach the suburbs, away from the tenement districts, at all hours, by reducing the fare on the elevated railroads.

Vetoed the bill limiting car-drivers' hours of labor to twelve hours per day.

Vetoed the Mechanics' Lien Law, a bill designed to give labor the first lien on a building in course of erection.

Vetoed the Tenure of Office Bill, which provided that appointments made by the present Mayor of New York should not hold good beyond his term of office—a measure aimed at H. O. Thompson, Commissioner of Public Works, New York, and his crooked \$999 contracts.

## BLAINE.

Offered a substitute to the Bland Silver Bill, authorizing the free coinage of the standard silver dollar, and restoring its legal-tender character. His substitute provided that the silver dollar should contain 425 grains, so as to make it of equal value with a gold dollar. The substitute was defeated. Thereafter Mr. Blaine opposed the Bland Silver Bill.

Made a speech advocating restrictions on the importation of Chinese laborers.

Made a speech, May 1, 1878, opposing the appointment of a Tariff Commission.

*Candidate for Presidential nomination* before the Rep. National Convention of 1880. Received on first ballot 284 votes out of 755; on the thirty-sixth and last ballot all his strength was thrown to Gen. Garfield, and the latter was nominated.

*Secretary of State* (under Garfield) 1881, resigning when Vice-President Arthur became President.

Demanded a modification of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with England, in order that the United States might maintain such supervision over the Panama Canal "as will protect our national interests."

Endeavored to bring about an *early peace between Chili and Peru*. His instructions were *misunderstood by Minister Hurlbut*,

## CLEVELAND.

Signed a bill compelling every engineer to pay \$2 for his certificate of examination, the proceeds to go to the Police Pension Fund.

Vetoed a bill providing for the relief of a one-armed Union veteran, James Young, who was made an almost helpless cripple, by an accident, while he was performing his duties as employé in the Capitol at Albany.

Vetoed a bill (for which every G. A. R. Post in the State petitioned) making it a misdemeanor for any one not an honorably discharged soldier or sailor to wear a G. A. R. badge.

Vetoed a bill providing that every honorably discharged soldier or sailor shall be furnished by the State with an engraved certificate of discharge.

## BLAINE.

and a special Commission was sent. Before it could act Mr. Arthur became President and the Commission was recalled.

Invited all the independent Governments of North and South America to meet in a Peace Congress at Washington, March 15, 1882. The following governments had accepted the invitation when the change of administration occurred, namely: Guatemala, Salvador, Nicaragua, Mexico, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela, and Honduras. The following is an extract from the letter of invitation:

"Impressed by these views, the President extends to all the independent countries of North and South America an earnest invitation to participate in a general Congress to be held in the city of Washington on the 24th day of November, 1882, for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war between the nations of America. He desires that the attention of the Congress shall be strictly confined to this one great object; that its sole aim shall be to seek a way of permanently averting the horrors of cruel and bloody combat between countries, oftenest of one blood and speech, or the even worse calamity of internal commotion and civil strife."

## CLEVELAND.

## WAR RECORD OF CANDIDATES.

## BLAINE.

Extract from editorial in *Kennebec Journal*, 1855:

"There might be some reason for the counsel to compromise where the issue is not one of

## CLEVELAND.

Drafted for the war in 1863, while serving as assistant district-attorney, and procured a substitute.

## BLAINE.

morals, or is doubtful and undefined; but when asked to compromise with an undisguised, open, hideous wrong, like slavery, —never!"

Delegate to National Rep. Convention, 1860, and an active worker for Lincoln's nomination.

Made a speech in Maine State Senate, 1862, advocating the confiscation of the property of rebels.

Advocated, in a speech before Congress, the measure providing for enlistment of colored troops.

Extract from letter of acceptance, on re-election to Congress, 1864:

"Peace, on the basis of disunion, is a delusion. It is no peace at all. . . . Those who cry for the 'immediate cessation of the war' are the best advocates of its endless continuance. They mean peace by the recognition of Rebel Independence, and Rebel Independence is absolutely incompatible with peace."

Originated and successfully carried through the proposition to reimburse the loyal States for expenses incurred in the war.

Advocated, in a speech in Congress, the amendment to the Constitution providing that the basis of representation in Congress be the number of voters, not the population.

In an article in the *North American Review*, in 1870, Mr. Blaine wrote:

"For the ballot to-day, imperfectly enjoyed as it is by the negro, its freedom unjustly and

## CLEVELAND.

Voted throughout the war for the Democratic ticket.

*Note.*—Mr. Cleveland was first entitled to vote in 1856. In 1860 the Democratic party was a professedly pro-slavery party; in 1864, in its platform, it denounced the war as a failure; in 1866 it denounced negro suffrage.

## BLAINE.

illegally curtailed, its independence ruthlessly marred, its purity defiled, is withal and after all the strong shield the race has against a form of servitude which would have all the cruelty and none of the alleviations of the old slave system, whose destruction carried with it the shedding of so much innocent blood."

In a speech, in 1876, on a bill granting general amnesty to all rebels, Mr. Blaine opposed its including Jefferson Davis, in the following words :

"It is not because of any particular and special damage that he, above others, did to the Union, or because he was personally or especially of consequence, that I except him. But I except him on this ground : That he was the author, knowingly, deliberately, guiltily, and wilfully, of the gigantic murders and crimes at Andersonville."

## LOGAN.

Enlisted as private in Mexican War, 1845, at the age of 19 ; became lieutenant ; served as adjutant of his regiment, 1st. Ill. Inf. and came out as quartermaster.

Was a Democratic Congressman in 1860, but upon Lincoln's election, and threats in the South, he avowed his intention of seeing Lincoln inaugurated, if he had to shoulder a musket and go to Washington.

Extract from a speech in the House of Representatives, in 1860 :

"I have been taught to believe that the preservation of this glorious Union, with its broad flag

## CLEVELAND.

## HENDRICKS.

In the beginning of his career in Congress he voted to extend slavery by breaking down the Missouri Compromise.

Early in the war, when efforts were being made to induce the States of the North-west to withdraw from the Union and form a government of their own, he said, in a speech :

"If the war being prosecuted shall have the effect of abolishing our market in the South, by destroying the peculiar system of labor in that section, then I would advise the North-west to look out for itself."

## LOGAN.

waving over us as the shield for our protection on land and on sea, is paramount to all the parties and platforms that ever have existed or ever can exist. I would to-day, if I had the power, sink my own party and every other one, with all their platforms, into the vortex of ruin, without heaving a sigh or shedding a tear, in order to save the Union, or even stop the revolution where it is."

Extract from a letter, 1860:

"I am for the Union, and for maintaining it, if such a thing be possible, and am uncompromisingly opposed to any man or set of men that countenance disunion, with its horrible consequences. There is no sacrifice I would not make for it,"

Participated as a volunteer in the battle of Bull Run (1861), and was one of the last to leave the field.

Raised a regiment, 31st Illinois, and took the field in September, 1861, with McClelland's brigade.

Was badly wounded in the assault on Fort Donelson.

As Major-General of Volunteers, commanded the Third Division, 17th Army Corps, under McPherson, in the movement against Vicksburg, in 1863.

Extract from Address to the Army, 1863:

"MARCH BRAVELY ONWARD! Nerve your strong arms to the task of overthrowing every obstacle in the pathway of victory, until, with shouts of triumph, the last gun is fired that proclaims us a United People under the old Flag and one Government! Pa-

## HENDRICKS.

In February, 1863, during Lincoln's administration, he said, in a speech:

"If Congress would take a bundle of switches and switch them all out of the White House, it would be well for the people; but until that is done, it will not be well. You may hear the prayers in our churches; your sons may go out to the battle-field; but our country is not to be restored as it was until Abolitionism is buried, never to be resurrected."

In a speech in 1863, he opposed the authorizing of colored troops.

At the close of the war, in the Senate, he contended against the right of Congress or the people to abolish slavery by constitutional amendment.

He voted against all the constitutional amendments of the reconstruction period.

## LOGAN.

triot Soldiers, this great work accomplished, the reward for such service as yours will be realized; the blessings and honors of a grateful people will be yours."

Succeeded General Sherman in command of the 15th Corps, Nov., 1863.

At the battle of Atlanta he succeeded Gen. McPherson, on the latter's fall, and rallied the Union forces.

Extracts from a speech at Chicago, 1863:

"Why is it that the people must be discouraged? If a man is a true man to his government, he never will in its darkest hour do anything to discourage that government. It is the dark hour of this country now. It is the period of its gravest trials. Stand by your country now. Now is the time to do it, so that sooner or later her victories will be won."

"No man can be neutral—he must be one or the other—he must believe the government is right in using its force against the rebels, or that it is wrong; and when we find men using all their talents, ingenuity, ability, and influence against our own Government and cause, he may pronounce as often as he pleases, and declare himself, every day a thousand times, to be a good Union man, but it is false, and everybody can see it that will."

"For my part, I have no opinion I desire to conceal. Democrats, Republicans—all ought to be for restoring this Government, with every inch of soil, *as it was* before traitors despoiled it. To accomplish this, if necessary, I am in favor of using the last

## HENDRICKS.

He was one of three Senators to vote for a proposition that no colored man should be allowed to vote unless he was worth \$250 in his own or his wife's right.

At a banquet given to General Sherman, during a reunion of veterans, the Indiana soldiers would not suffer Mr. Hendricks to speak, because of his attitude during the war.

In the year 1863, he said, in a speech:

"I am ready to compromise at any time. I am ready to say to the people of the South, 'Come in again and we will secure to you your Constitutional rights, and, if you desire them, additional guarantees.' If there is any man who desires to continue fighting, and spending the people's money and lives, I do not sympathize with him."

In a speech made same year, 1863, he said of the Emancipation Proclamation:

"I do not know whether that proclamation is going to be taken back or not; I am going to vote to take it back the first opportunity I get. It was a wicked thing to have issued."



LOGAN.

dollar, of filling the last ditch with human gore, and making bridges of human carcasses, if the Government can in no other way be restored."

HENDRICKS.

## CHARGES, WITH ANSWERS, AGAINST MR. BLAINE.

"If you would be a man, have plenty of enemies."—*Talleyrand*.

"One must be somebody in order to have an enemy; one must be a force before he can be resisted by another force."—*Mme. Swetchine*.

CHARGES.

**Charge No. 1.**—That Mr. Blaine's religion, if he has any, leans toward Catholicism.

*Origin of the Charge:* Mr. Blaine stated, March 10, 1876, in response to questions:—

"My ancestors on my father's side were, as you know, always identified with the Presbyterian Church, and they were prominent and honored in the old colony of Pennsylvania. But I will never consent to make any public declaration upon the subject, and for two reasons: First, because I abhor the introduction of anything that looks like a religious test or qualification for office in a republic where perfect freedom of conscience is the birthright of every citizen; and, second, because my mother was a devoted Catholic. I would not for a thousand Presidencies speak a disrespectful word of my mother's religion, and no pressure will draw me into any avowal of hostility or unfriendliness to Catholics, though I have never received, and do not expect, any political support from them."

ANSWERS.

**Answer to Charge No. 1.**—

Extract from a letter from Rev. James H. Ecob, formerly Mr. Blaine's pastor, dated June 18th, 1884:—

"Mr. and Mrs. Blaine united on confession of faith with the Old South Congregational Church, Augusta, Me., in 1858. . . . They are greatly beloved and honored in the church. Still more, they and their households and their guests are always in their places on Sundays. The children are in the Sabbath-school; and, once more, they contribute generously to the support of the church by their gifts, their influences, and their wise counsels. . . . Mrs. Blaine comes of the old New England Stanwood stock, which has been Congregational from the beginning. . . . Mr. Blaine is not a Catholic, and from the above citation of facts, it is plain that he never has been since coming to man's estate. . . . If any one asks for my authority, it is this: From 1872 to 1881 I was pastor of the church in Augusta, of which the Blaines are members."

## CHARGES.

**Charge No. 2.**—That Mr. Blaine entered Congress a poor man, and is now immensely wealthy. Where did he get his money?

*Origin of the Charge:* It arose simply from the supposition that Mr. Blaine's wealth reaches into the millions, and he started life as a poor boy.

**Charge No. 3.**—That Mr. Blaine received from the Union Pacific Railroad Company the sum of \$64,000, in 1871, while he was a Congressman. E. H. Rollins, Treasurer of the company, was cited as authority. It was averred that the money was paid through Morton, Bliss & Co., bankers, of New York.

*Origin of the Charge:* It was never made definitely and openly, but arose just before the Republican National Convention of 1876, to defeat Blaine's chances for the nomination. The charge was put forward a few months after Mr. Blaine's severe speech, opposing the amnesty of Jefferson Davis. (See war record, p. 13.)

## ANSWERS.

**Answer to Charge No. 2.**—Mr. Blaine has for twenty years owned a valuable coal tract of several hundred acres near Pittsburg, Pa., which yielded him considerable revenue before he entered Congress. Every one knows that region has developed marvelously since then.

Hon. Wm. Walter Phelps, Congressman for New Jersey, for years Mr. Blaine's financial adviser, says: "I personally know that he [Mr. Blaine] was never the possessor of the half of one million."

The "palatial mansion" he was said to own in Washington, he sold, with all its furniture, not long ago, for \$24,500.

**Answer to Charge No. 3.**—The following letter was written to Mr. Blaine, under date March 31, 1876, and read before the House of Representatives:

"In response to your inquiry, I beg leave to state that I have been treasurer of the Union Pacific Railroad Co., since April 8, 1871, and have necessarily known of all disbursements made since that date. During that entire period, up to the present time, I am sure that no money has been paid in any way or to any person, by the company, in which you were interested in any manner whatever. I make this statement in justice to the company, to you, and to myself.

"E. H. ROLLINS."

Letter, under date April 13,

## CHARGES.

**Charge No. 4.**—That a draft was negotiated at the house of Morton, Bliss & Co., through Thos. A. Scott, then President of the Union Pacific Railroad Co., for the sum of \$64,000; and that \$75,000, in bonds of the Little Rock and Ft. Smith R. R. Co. were pledged as collateral. It was claimed that Mr. Blaine, or some one in his interest, had furnished this collateral to Mr. Scott, and that the cash proceeds of the transaction with Morton, Bliss & Co. went to Mr. Blaine or some friend of his.

*Origin of the Charge:* It was an outgrowth from the preceding charge, the two letters given above making it necessary to modify the charge in some way.

## ANSWERS.

1876, to Mr. Blaine, read before the House of Representatives:

"It has been suggested to us that our letter of the 6th instant was not sufficiently inclusive or exclusive. In that letter we stated that no draft, note, or check, or other evidence of value has ever passed through our books, in which you were known or supposed to have any interest, direct or indirect. It may be proper for us to add that nothing has been paid by us, in any form or at any time, to any person or corporation, in which you were known, believed, or supposed to have any interest whatever.

"MORTON, BLISS & Co."

**Answer to Charge No. 4.**  
—Extract of letter, April, 1876, from Sidney Dillon, President of the Union Pacific R. R. Co., to Thos. A. Scott, president, in 1871, of same company:

"These statements are injurious both to Mr. Blaine and to the Union Pacific R. R. Co. There never were any facts to warrant them, and I think that a statement to the public is due both from you and myself. I desire, as president of the company, to repel any such inference in the most emphatic manner, and would be glad to hear from you."

Extract of letter from Thos. A. Scott to Sidney Dillon, dated April 21, 1876:

"In reply, I beg leave to state that, much as I dislike the idea of entering into any of the controversies that are before the public in these days of scandal, from which but few men in public life seem to be exempt, I feel it my

## CHARGES.

**Charge No. 5.**—That while Mr. Blaine occupied the Speaker's chair, in 1869, a bill was brought in to renew a land grant made before the war, to the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. A bill to grant land to the Memphis, El Paso, and Pacific Railroad was sought to be attached as an amendment to the former bill. The effect would have been to weaken the Little Rock Bill. Mr. Blaine, then in the chair, sent word to Senator Logan to raise the point of order that the amendment was not germane to the bill. Senator Logan raised the point of order; it was sustained; the amendment was killed, and the bill was saved. Mr. Blaine, the charge runs, wrote at once to the promoters of the bill, calling attention to his services, and being therefor made a selling-agent of the bonds of the road, and receiving a number of such bonds as his percentage.

*Origin of the Charge:* As the preceding charges missed fire, and the probability that Mr.

## ANSWERS.

duty to state: That the Little Rock and Ft. Smith bonds, purchased by the Union Pacific R. R. Co. in 1871, were not purchased or received from Mr. Blaine, directly or indirectly; and that of the money paid by the Union Pacific R. R. Co., or of the avails of said bonds, not one dollar went to Mr. Blaine, or to any person for him, or for his benefit in any form."

**Answer to Charge No. 5.**

—(a) The Little Rock Bill is not denied to have been a perfectly proper bill. It passed both Senate and House *without a dissenting vote*.

(b) The point of order is not denied to have been a legitimate one. How Mr. Blaine came to suggest it is seen from the following extract from the letter to Mr. Fisher, which forms the sole basis for the charge. The letter runs as follows:

"In this dilemma [when the unpopular amendment had been attached] Roots, the Arkansas member, came to me to know what on earth he could do under the rules, for he said it was vital to his constituents that the bill should pass. I told him that the amendment was entirely out of order because not germane, but he had not sufficient confidence in his knowledge of the rules to make the point. But he said General Logan was opposed to the Fremont scheme, and would probably make it. I sent my page to General Logan with the suggestion, and he at once made the point."

## CHARGES.

Blaine would be nominated grew stronger, the ground of accusation was again shifted. This time it was based on the so-called Mulligan letters (concerning which, see next charge.)

## ANSWERS.

(c) That Mr. Blaine wrote to Mr. Fisher, a Boston merchant, who became identified with the Little Rock Road, is true. But the letter was written eighty days after Congress adjourned, and ran as follows :

"At that time [during the passage of the bill spoken of above] I had never seen Mr. Caldwell, but you can tell him that, without knowing it, I did him a great favor."

That is the sentence on which the whole charge of corruption is based. Notice, no favor is asked. Mr. Fisher and Mr. Caldwell had nothing to do with the control of the Little Rock Road when the bill passed; it came into their hands afterward. The bill passed in April, 1869. At that time Blaine stated under oath he did not know there was such a man as Caldwell. At that time Mr. Fisher, as he himself stated, did not know there was any such enterprise as the Little Rock Railroad. The evidence of these assertions was laid before Congress, and *was never contradicted.*

(d) That Mr. Blaine asked to be made selling-agent of Little Rock bonds was disproved when the correspondence was made public. No such request or any thing like it appears. *And he never was made selling-agent.*

(e) That Mr. Blaine obtained an interest in the bonds of the Little Rock Road is true. He ad-

## CHARGES.

**Charge No. 6.**—The “Mulligan” letters were private letters from Mr. Blaine to his friend Warren Fisher, of Boston. In some way they were obtained by James Mulligan, and just before the Republican Convention of 1876, rumors of all sorts were started as to the damning disclosures these letters were to make. There was no hope that the Democratic Committee, then investigating the affairs of the Pacific Railroad, would settle the matter before the convention met. At this junct-

## ANSWERS.

mitted it frankly before Congress. But he did not even begin to negotiate for the bonds until two and a half months after Congress adjourned. He paid for them at the regular price, as he declared, on the floor of Congress, in these words:

“Instead of receiving bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Road as a gratuity, I never had one except at the regular market price.”

This is confirmed publicly by Hon. William Walter Phelps, Congressman from New Jersey, for years Blaine’s financial adviser, in the following words:

“What interest, then, did Mr. Blaine obtain? An interest in the securities of the company. How? By purchase on the same terms as they were sold on the Boston market to all applicants, sold to Josiah Bardwell, to Elisha Atkins, and to other reputable merchants.”

**Answer to Charge No. 6.**

—A letter from London to Proctor Knott, chairman of the investigating committee, exonerating Mr. Blaine from certain half-hinted charges, was suppressed by Mr. Knott. This came to Mr. Blaine’s knowledge, and led him to suppose that the committee was purposely delaying action, in order that his (Mr. Blaine’s) chances for nomination might thereby be injured. He resolved upon prompt action. He did go to Mr. Mulligan and solicit the letters

## CHARGES.

ure, it is charged, Mr. Blaine went to Mulligan and solicited the letters. Mulligan stated that Mr. Blaine "prayed, almost went on his knees, and implored me to think of his six children and his wife, and said that if the committee should get hold of this communication it would ruin him forever." Mr. Mulligan also said Mr. Blaine asked him if he would not like to have a consulship abroad. Mr. Blaine finally prevailed on Mr. Mulligan to give him the letters, promising, it is said, to return them. He read some of the letters before Congress. Others, it is charged, he did not read, and when Mr. Mulligan requested the return of the letters, Mr. Blaine refused to fulfil his promise.

## ANSWERS.

the latter had. That he told Mr. Mulligan "if the committee should get hold of this communication it would ruin him forever," Mr. Blaine denied *on his oath*. That he asked Mr. Mulligan if he would like a consulship abroad, Mr. Blaine also denied *on his oath*. There were no witnesses to the interview. Mr. Blaine obtained the letters. They were read by him before the House of Representatives, thereby going on record in the Congressional reports. It was afterward claimed that the most damaging letters had not been read. But Mr. Mulligan's memorandum of the letters was soon after produced, and the number and index therein corresponded exactly with the letters read by Mr. Blaine before Congress. That portion of the letters which it had been announced was to incriminate Mr. Blaine, has been given in the preceding answer.

*The late Judge Jeremiah Black*, of Pennsylvania, for years one of the foremost leaders of the *Democratic* party, one of the keenest of lawyers, made the following statement concerning Charge No. 5 (the principal charge in the series), after personal investigation: "Mr. Blaine's letters proved that the charge was not only untrue, but impossible, and would continue so to prove until the Gregorian Calendar could be turned around and October made to precede April in the stately procession of the year."

*Senator Hawley*, of Connecticut: "I do affirm that so far as James G. Blaine is concerned, he is above reproach."

*Senator George F. Hoar*, of Massachusetts, referring to Charge No. 5: "The malice of his detractors brings against his personal integrity

a single charge, which is supported by no proof and refuted by every witness who knows the facts, and a single phrase in a letter which is fully susceptible of an honest construction."

WHERE EACH PARTY'S STRENGTH LIES.

REPUBLICAN STATES.			DEMOCRATIC STATES.		
(Arranged according to size of majority.)			(Arranged according to size of majority.)		
States.	Majority.		States.	Majority.	
	1876.	1880.		1876.	1880.
Iowa.....	59,205	44,789	Texas.....	60,000	80,529
Massachusetts...41,286		47,898	Georgia.....	79,602	48,384
Kansas.....	32,517	41,862	Kentucky.....	59,799	31,005
Minnesota.....	21,630	37,035	Mississippi.....	49,569	34,422
Vermont.....	24,078	26,036	Missouri.....	54,544	19,907
Nebraska.....	14,366	22,491	Alabama.....	34,281	30,322
Michigan.....	15,542	17,591	Tennessee.....	43,600	16,132
Pennsylvania...17,980		17,625	Virginia.....	44,112	12,810
Ohio.....	2,747	25,155	Maryland.....	19,799	15,191
Wisconsin.....	2,960	21,605	Arkansas.....	19,402	14,260
Maine.....	15,529	4,225	North Carolina..17,010		8,334
Illinois.....	2,397	13,762	West Virginia..13,076		2,069
Rhode Island...4,947		7,155	New Jersey.....12,445		2,010
New Hampshire 3,030		3,341	Delaware.....	2,629	1,142
Colorado.....		1,368			
Oregon.....	947	519			

NOTE.—Each of the other States gave a Republican majority one year and a Democratic majority the other, as follows :

	1876.		1880.		1876.		1880.
Cal...Rep.	2,767	Dem.	39	La...Rep.	4,807	Dem.	26,617
Conn.Dem.	2,900	Rep.	2,656	Nev...Rep.	1,075	Dem.	770
Fla...Rep.	922	Dem.	4,290	N. Y. Dem.	8,896	Rep.	5,862
Ind...Dem.	5,516	Rep.	6,642	S. Car. Rep.	890	Dem.	53,668



## RECORDS OF THE TWO PARTIES.

(N.B.—For the planks on the Tariff question, see p. 27.)

### REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS.

Extracts from first platform, 1856:

"That as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all of our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it, for the purpose of establishing slavery in any territory of the United States."

"That appropriations by Congress, for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens."

"It is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery."

Extract from platform of 1860:

"We deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States."

Extract from platform of 1864:

"That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an 'unconditional surrender' of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and

### DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS.

Extracts from platform of 1856, readopted in 1860:

"That all efforts of the abolitionists, or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps with relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences."

"The Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

"The Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements."

"The Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798 and 1799 . . . that it adopts these principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed."

*Note.*—The resolutions referred to affirmed the right of each State to judge for itself of the constitutionality of the acts of the General Government, and to refuse to submit if it deems those acts unconstitutional.

Extract from platform of 1860:

"The enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive-slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect."

Extract from platform of 1864:

"This convention does explic-

## REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS.

that we call upon the Government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, the patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions."

Extracts from platform of 1868 :

"We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evidenced by the adoption, in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those constitutions and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy."

"We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted."

Extract from platform of 1876 :

"In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and 'solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin.' Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment."

## DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS.

itly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war . . . justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States."

Extracts from platform of 1868 :

"We regard the reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress, as such, as usurpations and as unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void."

[N.B. The principal "reconstruction acts" were the Amendments conferring upon the Negro the right of citizenship.]

"Where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide, that they shall be paid in coin, they ought in right and justice to be paid in the lawful money of the United States [Greenbacks]."

Extract from platform of 1876 :

"We denounce the resumption clause of the Act of 1875, and demand its repeal."

[N.B. The "resumption clause" provided for the return to specie payment.]

# NATIONAL CHANGES UNDER REPUBLICAN RULE.

(The Republican party had its origin in Strong, Maine, August 7, 1854. It first came into power in 1861.)

THEN.	NOW.
There were 4,000,000 slaves.	Every slave has been freed.
The fugitive-slave law was in full force.	The negro has an equal right with the white man to cast a ballot.
Eleven States, with a population of 9,000,000, were in open rebellion.	The Rebellion has been quelled, and the Union is intact.
Because of the Rebellion, the currency of the Government depreciated to 38 cents on the dollar.	One dollar of the currency is worth one dollar in gold.
In 1865 the debt of the nation was \$2,221,311,918.29.	In 1884 the National debt was \$1,338,229,150.
In 1860 the valuation of property in the United States (excluding slaves) was \$14,000,000,000.	The valuation, in 1880, of all property in the United States, was \$44,000,000,000 — an increase of 214 per cent.
In 1860 there were 31,000 miles of railroad.	In 1883 there were over 104,000 miles of railroad.
For 1860 our foreign trade aggregated \$700,000,000.	For 1879 our foreign trade aggregated \$1,150,000,000.
All the exports from the United States, previous to 1860, aggregated less than \$9,000,000,000.	All exports from the United States from 1860 to 1884 aggregated over \$12,000,000,000.
In 1860 there were in the United States 2,044,077 farms, valued at \$6,645,045,007.	In 1880 there were in the United States 4,008,907 farms, valued at \$10,197,096,776.
In 1860 there were 140,433 manufactories, paying in wages \$378,878,966, the products being valued at \$1,885,861,676.	In 1880 there were in the United States 253,852 manufactories, paying in wages \$947,953,795, the products being valued at \$5,369,579,191.

*Population, 1860, 31,443,321.*

*Population, 1880, 50,155,783.*

*Increase, 59½ per cent.*

## TARIFF PLANKS OF THE TWO PARTIES.

## REPUBLICAN.

Extract from platform of 1860 :

"That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence."

Extract from platform of 1872 :

"The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country."

## DEMOCRATIC.

Extract from platform of 1848 :

"*Resolved*, That the fruits of the great political triumphs of 1844 have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in the noble impulse given to the cause of free-trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842, and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846, and that in our opinion it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of a political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved, and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance which is the only safeguard of liberty."

Extract from platforms of 1856 and 1860 :

"*Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free-trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example."

Extract from platform of 1876 :

"We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly 4000 articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretence. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has

## REPUBLICAN.

Extract from platform of 1880 :

"We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876 that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor."

Extract from platform of 1884 :

"It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort of and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the Government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just award and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity. Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest."

## DEMOCRATIC.

degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufacturers at home and abroad and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half of our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the Treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue."

Extract from platform of 1880 :

"Home rule, honest money, consisting of gold, silver, and paper, convertible on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and national, and a tariff for revenue only."

Extract from platform of 1884 :

"The Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the Custom-House have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice—all taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government."

## REPUBLICAN.

## DEMOCRATIC.

The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions, interest, and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We therefore denounce the abuse of the existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered."

## TESTIMONIES ON THE TARIFF QUESTION.

## PROTECTION IN AMERICA.

*Abraham Lincoln :*

"I am in favor of the internal improvement system, and a high protective tariff."

*Henry Clay :*

"The proposition to be maintained by our adversaries is, that manufactures, without protection, will, in due time, spring up in the country and sustain themselves, in competition with foreign fabrics, however advanced the arts and whatever the degree of protection may be in foreign countries. Now, I contend that

## FREE TRADE IN ENGLAND.

*Lord Goderich, in House of Lords :*

"Other nations knew, as well as the noble lord opposite, and those who acted with him, that what we (the English) meant by free trade, was nothing more nor less than, by means of the great advantages we enjoyed, to get the monopoly of all their markets for our manufactures, and to prevent them, one and all, from ever becoming manufacturing nations."

*David Syme, an advocate of free trade :*

"The manner in which Eng-

## PROTECTION IN AMERICA.

this proposition is refuted by all experience, ancient and modern, in every country. If I am asked why unprotected industry should not succeed in a struggle with protected industry, I answer, the fact has ever been so, and that is sufficient; I reply that uniform experience evinces that it cannot succeed in such a struggle, and that is sufficient. If we speculate on the causes of this universal truth, we may differ about them. Still, the indisputable fact remains."

*Alexander Hamilton :*

"But though it were true that the immediate and certain effect of a tariff was an increase of price, it is universally true that the contrary is the ultimate effect with every successful manufacture. When a domestic manufacture has attained to perfection, and has engaged in the prosecution of it a competent number of persons, it can be afforded, and accordingly seldom or never fails to be sold cheaper, in process of time, than the foreign article for which it is a substitute. The internal competition which takes place soon does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the price of the article to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed. This accords with the reason of the thing and with experience."

*Benjamin Franklin :*

"Every manufacturer encouraged in our country makes part of a market for provisions within ourselves and saves so much money to this country as must otherwise be exported for the manufactures he supplies."

## FREE TRADE IN ENGLAND.

lish capital is used to maintain her manufacturing supremacy is well understood abroad. In any quarter of the globe where a competition shows itself as likely to interfere with her monopoly, immediately the capital of her manufacturers is massed in that particular quarter, and goods are exported in large quantities and sold at such prices that outside competition is effectually counted out. English manufacturers have been known to export goods to a distant market and sell them under cost for years, with a view to getting the market into their own hands again."

*Sir Edward Sullivan*, in 1881, speaking of the laboring classes in England :

"Whatever the wealth of the country may be, it has not penetrated down to them. Every year this wealth is accumulating into fewer hands; every year the gulf between rich and poor becomes deeper and broader. It is calculated that there are at this moment 14,500,000 of the people with less than 10s. 6d. (\$2.62) a week to live on. The operatives look abroad, and they see and hear from their mates what is the condition of national wealth in France and America, that there the fertilizing stream has descended to all classes, and they find the very reverse is the case: that wealth is daily becoming more generally distributed, that every year the gulf between rich and poor is getting narrower and shallower. They see and hear that the operatives in France and America have far steadier work, higher wages in proportion, and are increasing more rapidly in material prosperity than the work-people

## PROTECTION IN AMERICA.

*Thomas Jefferson :*

"To cultivate peace, and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises, to foster our fisheries, as nurseries of navigation and for the nurture of man, and to protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances—these are the landmarks by which we are to guide ourselves."

*James Madison :*

"The revision of our commercial laws, proper to adapt them to the arrangement which has taken place with Great Britain, will doubtless engage the early attention of Congress. It will be worthy at the same time of their just and provident care to make such alteration in the laws as will especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture."

*Daniel Webster :*

"The term (protection) was well understood in our colonial history, and if we go back to the history of the Constitution, and of the convention which adopted it, we shall find that everywhere, when masses of men were assembled, and the wants of the people were brought forth into prominence, the idea was held up that domestic industry could not prosper, manufactures and the mechanic arts could not advance, the condition of the common country could not be carried up to any considerable elevation, unless there should be one government, to lay one rate of duty upon imports throughout the Union, from New Hampshire to Georgia; regard to be had, in laying this duty, to the protection of American labor and industry. I defy the man in any degree conversant with history, in any

## FREE TRADE IN ENGLAND.

of Great Britain, and they are beginning to ask why. They know that they are, man for man, as good as their rivals; that in mechanical skill, in aptitude for hard work, in mineral wealth, in national capital, etc., they are their superiors. Why, then, are they not equally advancing in material prosperity?"

*A prominent manufacturer, in Bradford, England, the centre of the worsted industry :*

"The truth is, the higher the foreign tariff the lower we must make our goods and the less we can afford to pay labor. The least possible reduction in the United States tariff will be a grand thing for Bradford, but how it will affect your industries I can hardly say. We are obliged to sell our goods in France for the same price as we did before they enacted their higher tariff, and the Bradford manufacturer is paying that duty, not the French consumers of the goods. I know from practical experience what I am talking about."

*Thomas Carlyle :*

"British industrial existence seems fast becoming one huge poison swamp of reckless pestilence, physical and moral, a hideous living Golgotha of souls and bodies buried alive. . . . Thirty thousand outcast needlewomen working themselves swiftly to death; three million paupers rotting in forced idleness, and these are but items in the sad ledger of despair."

*Inspector of Police, Leeds, England,* was asked, in 1882, by Robt. P. Porter, the following question :

"In your fifteen years' experi-



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degree acquainted with the annals of this country from 1787 to the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, to say that this was not a leading, I may almost say *the* leading, motive, South as well as North, for the formation of the new government. Without that provision in the Constitution it never could have been adopted."

*Peter Cooper :*

"I have noticed in my own business life, extending over a period of nearly seventy years, that every reduction of the tariff (or 'the tariff for revenue only' plan) has brought wretchedness and ruin. It is the natural effect from such a cause. Nothing is more certain than that the advocacy of free trade comes from foreigners who want to break up our industries. They have done it several times already, and they want to do it again. The laborers of the Old World get barely enough to keep body and soul together, and that is the condition in which the advocates of free trade are trying to place our laborers, and it behooves every man to do all he can to deter Congress from the endeavor."

*Hon. J. T. Updegraff, Congressman from Ohio :*

"I have been a farmer all my life, and every year for thirty years have sold the products of the farm. When manufactures were fully protected and flourishing, I have never seen the time that judicious agriculture was not prosperous; and when manufacturing under 'revenue' tariff was crippled or broken down I never saw agriculture flourishing."

*Hon. A. S. Hewitt, U. S. Commissioner :*

"The entire difference in the

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ence, in which your jurisdiction has extended all over the borough of Leeds, embracing, as it does, 320,000 of the most thrifty industrial population in England, did you ever know the ordinary workingman to own the house in which he lived, and the ground on which it stands—I mean the skilled artisan, the mechanic, the engineer, the carpenter, the mason, and the like?"

"If I was on my oath in court, sir," earnestly replied the inspector, "I should be obliged to answer, in my experience never!"

*Henry Fawcett, M.P., Postmaster-General of England, speaking of the prodigious increase in British exports :*

"This increase of national prosperity has as yet affected no corresponding improvement in the condition of the laboring classes."

*London Times, 1880 :*

"The United States do not approach the question from the same point of view as ourselves. The object of their statesmen is not to secure the largest amount of wealth for the country generally, but to keep up, by whatever means, the standard of comfort among the laboring class."

*The Workingmen's Delegation to the Fair-Trade League, London, recently stated, that a very large proportion of the operative population of Great Britain (they put it at one third) is out of work; that the rest have not on an average more than four days' work a week; that for five or six years they have been consuming their savings and the funds of their trade societies.*

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cost of making iron here and in England is the wages."

*Prof. Francis Bowen, Harvard :*

"The best legislative policy is that which will most effectually develop all the natural advantages of a country, whether mental or material. It is as wasteful, to say the least, to allow mechanical skill and inventive genius to remain unemployed, as to permit water-power to run without turning mill-wheels, or minerals to remain in the ore, or forests to stand where cotton and grain might grow luxuriantly. . . .

"I see not how these ends can be obtained in a country like ours . . . without throwing over our manufacturing industry, at least for half a century to come, the broad shield of an effective protecting tariff."

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*John Farrett, of Pittsburg, Pa., President of the Amalgamated Iron Association, in 1883 :*

"Now it happens I was born on the other side of the water, and I am pretty well conversant with the methods of living there, and I know pretty well what free trade has done for that country. The difference in ratio of prices at which they have to sell their products in England and the prices in this country is largely in our favor. The puddler receives as his standard wages all through the north of England 7s.6d, a ton, while here our men receive about \$5.50. There he receives but one-twentieth of the price that commodity brings in the market ; and our men receive \$5.50 for that same iron that brings on the market \$56 ; in other words, we get \$5.50 for our puddler, and the manufacturer gets \$56, and the English puddler gets only \$2 out of \$35. You see, then, how largely it is in favor of our men, and the ratio carries itself all the way through

## CONDITION OF WORKING WOMEN IN BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND.

The following account is given by Robert P. Porter, special correspondent of the *N. Y. Tribune*. He himself visited the locality described, and verified all the facts by personal observation :

"It appears that to-day, in spite of 'Factory Act' and 'School Board,' thousands of females, old and young, mothers and daughters, with their little children by their sides, toil by day and by night, in a locality about seven miles from the great free-trade city of Birmingham—the home of Bright and Chamberlain. In this gloomy district about 24,000 people are engaged in making nails and rivets. If they were men and boys the lowness of the wages would not seem so bad. But this account brings out the fact that sixteen thousand females are engaged day after day in the occupation. They are not all mature women ; daughters work by the side of mothers—daughters who, in their tender years, ought to be at home, if they have any home, or in

bed, instead of working their weary arms in shaping, in the still small hours of the morning, molten iron into the form of nails. Here is the picture drawn by a writer in *The London Standard*, who actually witnessed it two or three nights ago :

"The remuneration they receive is incredibly small. It is no unusual thing—on the contrary, it is rather the usual custom—for a family of three or four persons, after working something like fourteen hours a day, to earn £1 (\$5) in a week. But out of this money there has to be deducted 1s. 3d. for carriage to convey the nails to the 'gaffers,' as they are termed in the district; then there is allowance to be made for fuel and the repairing of the machinery, which reduces the £1 to about 16s. 9d. (\$4.18) for three people—for three people who have commenced to work every morning at half past seven or eight, and who have worked on through all the weary day, with no substantial food, until late at night."

"These poor laborers rarely or never taste meat from one week's end to the other. In the expressive but simple language of one work-woman, this is how they fare: 'When the bread comes hot from the bakehouse oven on Saturday, we eat it like ravenous wolves.' The scenes of misery—misery so deep and dreadful that the most graphic pen can only faintly convey its depth of sorrow—that are witnessed in this region would hardly be believed in the United States, and were I not quoting from English authority of the highest character I should be fearful of laying myself open to the charge of prejudice, so frequently made against those who would rather elevate than degrade labor, and who do not want cheapness at such a fearful cost. Women, within a few days of their confinement, have been known to work in the agony of exhaustion, in order to earn a few pence, at the 'hearth'—not the 'hearth' of home, which England, especially at this season of the year, so fondly boasts of, but the 'hearth' of the forge. They have been known to return to work in a day or two after childbirth, 'emaciated in constitution, weak and weary for the want of simple nourishment.' Their children, ragged and ill-fed, have had to lead miserable and wretched lives, with no hope before them but a life of wickedness and vice."

## THE TARIFF AND WAGES.

### IN THREAD FACTORIES.

The following table was compiled, in 1883, by the Clarke Thread Co., from the pay-rolls of their large factories in Newark, N. J., and Paisley, Scotland :

<i>Great Britain.</i>		<i>United States.</i>	
	Weekly wages.		Weekly wages.
Cop-winders.....	\$3.50	Cop-winders.....	\$8.00
Finishers .....	2.50	Finishers .....	5.50
Reelers .....	4.25	Reelers .....	8.00
Spoolers.....	3.25	Spoolers.....	8.00
Foremen .....	7.00	Foremen .....	20.00
Pickers ....	4.12	Pickers .....	7.00
Hank-winders .....	3.75	Hank-winders .....	7.00

## IN IRON MILLS.

The report of the U. S. Tariff Commission, 1882, gives the following as the wages paid in iron mills in England, under free trade, and in Pittsburg, Pa., under protection :

<i>Great Britain.</i>	<i>United States.</i>
Puddlers, per ton..... \$1.94	Puddlers, per ton..... \$5.50
Shinglers, " " ..... 29	Shinglers, " " ..... 77
Rollers in puddle mill, per ton 29	Rollers in puddle mill, per ton 68½
Rollers and heaters, " " 1.80	Rollers and heaters, " " 4.80
Common laborers (per day), 56 @ 72	Common laborers (per day), \$1.30 @ 1.50

## IN WOOLEN MILLS.

This table and those which follow it have been taken from the letters in the N. Y. *Tribune*, of Robert P. Porter, member of the U. S. Tariff Commission of 1882. The figures for Great Britain and Germany were obtained by personal investigation, inspection of pay-rolls, etc.; those for the United States from the reports of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics, and other equally reliable sources.

<i>Great Britain (Yorkshire).</i>	<i>United States (Massachusetts).</i>
Weekly wages.	Weekly wages.
Wool sorters.....\$6 00	Wool sorters.....\$ 9.43
Washers and scourers (men) 5.75	Washers and scourers (men) 8.84
Dyers ..... 5.75	Dyers (men) ..... 7.81
Dyers (young) ..... 3.00	Dyers (young)..... 5.12
Carders (men) ..... 5.00	Carders (men)..... 8.12
" (women) ..... 3.25	" (women)..... 5.39
" (young) ..... 2.50	" (young) ..... 4.53
Spinners (men)..... 5.00	Spinners (men) ..... 9.05
" (women) ..... 3.00	" (women) ..... 6.18
" (young) ..... 2.50	" (young) ..... 4.92
Weavers (men)..... 5.00	Weavers (men)..... 8.53
" (women) ..... 3.50	" (women) ..... 7.45
Giggers (men) ..... 5.00	Giggers (men) ..... 7.00
Shearers (men) ..... 5.25	Shearers (men)..... 8.05
Mechanics ..... 7.50	Mechanics ..... 13.43
Engineers ..... 7.50	Engineers ..... 11.07
Firemen..... 6.00	Fireman..... 8.00
Watchmen..... 5.00	Watchmen ..... 9.63
Laborers ..... 4.50	Laborers ..... 8.58

